

Message Text

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 08947 161029Z
ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 8947

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PL
SUBJECT: NATO POLADS STUDY ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND

REF: (A) STATE 303399, (B) STATE 303514, (C) WARSAW 8844 (NOTAL)

1. THE ANALYSES OUTLINED IN REFS A AND B WERE EVIDENTLY
PREPARED BEFORE RECEIPT OF OUR MOST RECENT ASSESSMENT OF
THE SITUATION HERE (REF C). WE DRAW PARTICULAR ATTENTION
TO THE FOLLOWING AREAS IN WHICH OUR ASSESSMENT VARIES
FROM THAT OF THE DEPARTMENT.

A. A CLOSER GOP ALIGNMENT WITH SOVIET FOREIGN
POLICIES-AS WE POINTED OUT (REF C PARA 14), THE POLES
HAVE FOR YEARS MARCHED IN KREMLIN CADENCE ON FOREIGN
POLICY MATTERS. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THEIR CRITICISM
OF THE US ON WORLD ISSUES HAS BECOME SOMEWHAT MUTED IN
RECENT YEARS, THEY HAVE NOT, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, BROKEN
STEP WITH THEIR WARSAW PACT ALLIES. THIS IS THE
PRICE THEH HAVE PAID AND CONTINUE TO PAY FOR A MEASURE OF
INDEPENDENCE IN DOMESTIC POLICY, AND WE SEE NO EVIDENCE AFTER
GIEREK'S PILGRIMATE TO THE USSR THAT THE SOVIETS
ARE UPPING THE ANTE.

B. TIGHTER ECONOMIC COORDINATION-AGAIN, WE
SEE LITTLE OR NO EVIDENCE. AS WE POINTED OUT (REF C
PARA 15), POLISH TRADE WITH OTHER CEMA PARTNERS
WILL SURELY RISE, BUT THIS WILL REFLECT MORE A
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DECELERATION OF THE RAPID GROWTH IN WESTERN TRADE

DURING RECENT YEARS THAN SOVIET PRESSURE TO MOVE TOWARD CLOSER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. IN SHORT, WE DISCOUNT MUCH OF THE RHETORIC COMING OUT OF BOTH MOSCOW AND WARSAW ON THIS SUBJECT.

C. PLURALISM-IN RETROSPECT, THE POLISH PLURALISM RECOGNIZED BY THE KREMLIN LOOKS MORE ECONOMIC THAN POLITICAL (REF C PARA 7). THE ATTEMPT OF GIEREK AND COMPANY TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF POLAND'S SMALL BUSINESS MEN, ARTISANS AND FARMERS IS ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL INGREDIENTS IN THEIR RECOVERY RECIPE. IT SMACKS OF IDOLOGICAL HERESY, AND IT OBVIOUSLY NEEDED MOSCOW'S SEAL OF APPROVAL.

D. GIEREK'S FUTURE-WE ARE LESS SANGUINE ABOUT THE FIRST SECRETARY'S CHANCES OF RE-ESTABLISHING HIS STRONG POSITION. OUR PROGNOSIS FOR LIMITED SUCCESS (REF C PARA 16) WOULD COME CLOSER TO MATCHING THE DEPARTMENT'S ASSESSMENT IF THE WORD "QUITE" WERE DELETED FROM THE THIRD SENTENCE OF PARA C IN STATE 303399.

2. WE RECOMMEND THAT OUR MESSAGE (REF C) BE REPEATED TO USMISSION NATO.
BROWN

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